

T H E
W H I G S
V I N D I C A T E D,

W - - T H E K
Objections that are commonly
brought against them *Answer'd,*

A N D

The Present MINISTRY prov'd to
be the best Friends to the CHURCH,
the MONARCHY, the Lasting PEACE,
and real Welfare of ENGLAND.

In a Letter to a Friend.

By JOHN WITHERS.

The Sixth Edition Corrected.

L O N D O N:

Printed for JOHN CLARK, at the Bible
and Crown in Cheapside, near the
Poultry. 1715.

Price Six Pence.

THE
W. H. I. G. S.
VINDICATED.

THE

Officers that are commonly
brought against them &c.

AND

The British Ministry approved to

be the best and most approved

and most approved



In a Letter to a Friend.

By JOHN WITHERS.

London: Printed by J. DODD, in Pall Mall.

M.D.C.C.C.

Printed for John Galt, at the
Old Green in Chancery, near the
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SIR,



Have according to your Desire consider'd the Objections which have been rais'd against the Whigs, and the present Ministry: They may be all reduc'd to these General Heads; That they are Enemies to the Church and Monarchy; That they have Plunder'd the Publick, and delight in a Consuming War: To each of these Particulars, I hope to give you a satisfactory Answer.

OBJECT, I. The first Objection against the Noble Patriots who have been lately restor'd to the Posts they formerly fill'd with so much Honour, is, That they are Enemies to the Church, and only wait for an Opportunity to destroy its Discipline and Liturgy, and to set up—No Body knows what, in the room of it. Thus Dr. *Walker* tells the World, “ That in the late Reign, there was a Course of Years in which the Interest of the Church was utterly discourag'd (a); That they were known and profess'd Enemies, who had procur'd a Vote, that she was in no Danger (b); and, that (since the Revolution) She hath had her All at Stake, and been upon the Brink of Ruin (c). ” To such Suggestions as these are owing the Affronts that have been offer'd to His Majesty, the Out-rages and Riots, the Burglaries and Murders which have been committed and encourag'd in divers Parts of the Kingdom. Thus, have I known (upon an Election,) an honest Gentleman, oppos'd, and rail'd at, as a Presbyterian and a Whig, tho' he goes twice on a *Sunday* to Church; whilst an opposite Candidate, who is never seen there more than once in a Month or Six Weeks, shall be huzza'd, and cry'd up as a Friend and Patron to the Establishment. I shall

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not

(a) Preface to the *Attempt*, p. 8. (b) *Ib.* p. 9. (c) P. 11.

not insist upon such Things as these, but proceed to Answer the Objection, which, I hope, I shall do to your Satisfaction by demonstrating, (1.) That the Church of England, as by Law Establish'd, owes its present Safety and Existence to Whiggish Principles: Whereas, had the Tories practis'd their own Doctrines, it had been infallibly ruin'd. (2.) That the Whigs, during their Administration, did many Things, and enacted many Laws for the real Benefit of the Church; but nothing at all to its Disadvantage. And (3.) That the Instances commonly made use of, to prove the Whigs Enemies to the Church, will bear as hard upon the Tories as upon their Adversaries.

Ans. 1. The first Thing I am to prove, is, That the Church of England owes its Preservation and very Being, next under the Providence of God, to Whiggish Principles. To judge aright of this Matter, 'tis requisite that we should look back to the Original of this unhappy Distinction betwixt Whig and Tory; and consider, what were the distinguishing Principles own'd and avow'd by each Party; from which the former have not receded to this very Day.

As for the beginning of these Invidious Names, they were not so much as heard of, amongst English Men, till the Discovery of Oats's Plot in 1678. The Detection of that black Design occasion'd a mighty Ferment in the Nation, whilst it was ridicul'd by some, and magnify'd perhaps by others beyond its true Bounds. The Duke of York was at that Time presumptive Heir to the English Crown: But a profess'd and known *Roman Catholick*. This created a great Uneasiness in the Minds of the major Part of the House of Commons, as well as many Lords. They concluded, That a Protestant Church could not possibly be safe under the Influence of a Popish Head: And Experience has since convinc'd us, that they were right in their Conjectures. In order to obviate so great a Mischief, a Bill was brought into the lower House, to exclude the said Duke from the Throne of these Kingdoms. This Expedient was eagerly pursu'd by some, and violently oppos'd by others. They who were against the Bill of Exclusion, began about this Time to be Nick-named *Tories*, and they who were for it to be distinguish'd by the Name of *Whigs*. The Principles which the latter proceeded on were such as these: That the supreme Ruler was set up for the good of the Society, and not a whole Kingdom made to gratify the Lust or Humour of a Lawless Tyrant. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex*, was a Maxim they were no more asham'd of then,

then, than they are now : They acknowledg'd the *English* Monarchy to be Hereditary : But when the next Successor was like to prove the Ruin of that Constitution he is oblig'd to protect, which they apprehended to be their present Case, they then concluded it Lawful to alter and break through the Right Line of Succession; presuming it better that one Man should lead a private Life, than a whole Nation perish, and a flourishing Church be overthrown. They thought the Exclusion of a Popish, and the advancing a Protestant Prince to the Throne, to be fairly consistent with the Laws both of God and the Kingdom. These were, and still are, the distinguishing Principles of a *Whig*.

On the other hand, The *Tories* preached up an Indefeasible Hereditary Right in the next Successor to the Crown; they pretended, That he who was next by Blood, ought to inherit, let him be a Protestant or Papist, Christian or Mahometan; and that it was a Sin against God to hinder or oppose him. The Patrons of this Doctrine, had the Modesty to set up themselves as the only True and Genuine Sons of the Church of *England*, and to rail against others as False Brethren. Now that I have not misrepresented the Principles of a *Tory*, I appeal to the Determination of the two famous Universities, *Oxford* and *Cambridge*: On the 18th of *Septemb.* 1681. Dr. *Gower*, Vice-Chancellor of *Cambridge*, presented an Address to *K. Charles II.* subscrib'd by himself, and the principal Members of that Learned Body; in which they thus express themselves, " We believe and maintain, That our Kings derive not their Titles from the People, but from God; That it belongs not to Subjects to Censure, but Obey their Sovereign, who comes to be so by a Fundamental Hereditary Right of Succession, which no Religion, no Law, no Fault or Forfeiture can alter or diminish (a)." So that if this Doctrine be true, we are oblig'd, as we value the Good-pleasure of Almighty God, to acknowledge him for our Sovereign, who is next, in what they call the Right Line, tho' ever so Heretical in his Doctrine, or enormous in his Life.

Let us in the next Place consult the University of *Oxford*, and we shall find them in the Year 1683. passing their Censure upon several pernicious Books and damnable Doctrines, as they are term'd in the Preamble to that famous Decree. The fifth Proposition which they condemn, is in these Words; " Birth-right and Proximity of Blood, give no Title to Rule; " and

(a) Hist. of Addresses, Vol. I. p. 49.

“ and it is Lawful to preclude the next Heir from his Right
 “ and Succession to the Crown (b). And having mention'd
 several others, to the number of twenty-seven in all; they
 proceed as follows: “ We decree, judge, and declare, all and
 “ every of these Propositions to be false, seditious and impi-
 “ ous, &c. (c). From these Authentick Records 'tis evident,
 That the Lawfulness of limiting the Succession, and exclu-
 ding him who is next by Proximity of Blood to the Crown,
 is a Fundamental Doctrine of the Whigs, which the Tories
 have disclaim'd as impious and damnable. And yet, hath not
 the whole Nation given into the Necessity of this Whiggish
 Principle? Are there not above twenty Popish Princes now
 living, who are all by Law excluded, tho' nearer in Blood to
 the Crown than His Present Majesty? Would not the *Oxford*
Decree, if put in execution, subject both us, and our Poste-
 rity to Popish Princes? And can we so soon forget King
James, as to make such another dangerous Experiment? In
 one Word, Either our High-Flyers have renounc'd their old
 Doctrine of an Indefeasible Right, and so come over to the
 Whigs in that Point, or they have not. If they have not;
 then how can they pray for, swear to, and own King *George*?
 Nay, how could they swear Allegiance to *Queen Anne*, when
 they had so often pray'd for the Pretender in their publick
 Churches as Prince of *Wales*? But if they have embrac'd other
 Notions, then, Why is *Confusion to Whiggism* so often toasted?
 Why do they damn those very Principles to which that
 Church, they pretend so great a Zeal for, owes its present
 Safety and Preservation under a Protestant King?

Another Whiggish Principle, to which the Church of *Eng-
 land* owes its present Safety, is, the Lawfulness of Resistance,
 or of defending the Constitution against the Assaults of a Ty-
 rannical Prince. I know the Whigs and Dissenters have been
 exclaim'd and rail'd against, as if their Doctrines gave Tink-
 ers and Cobblers a Liberty to controul the Actions of their
 King: as if it invested the disgusted Mob with a Power to
 call their Sovereign to Account, and discard him as often as
 their freekish Humours are not comply'd with. But these are
 Notions they do as much detest as any of their Accusers.
 This is what the Managers against the Doctor did publicly
 disclaim, even when pleading for the Lawfulness of Resist-
 ance in some extraordinary Cases. “ We will not put any
 “ Case of a Justifiable Resistance, but that of the Revolution
 “ only

(b) *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. 3. p. 149. (c) *Hist. of Eng.* Vol. 3. p. 421.

“ only, Says Sir *Jos. Fekyll* (d.) My Lords, (says Sir *John Holland*) the Commons would not be understood as if they were pleading for a Licentious Resistance ; as if Subjects were left to their good Will and Pleasure, when to obey, and when to resist (e). Resistance (saith Mr. *Walpole*) ought never to be thought of, but when an utter Subversion of the Laws of the Realm threatens the whole Frame of a Constitution, and no Redress can otherwise be hoped for (f.) Upon the whole, when such an extraordinary Case occurs, as that of the late Revolution, the Whigs apprehend that a Nation may defend, by force of Arms, its just Rights and Privileges against the Violent Attempts of an Arbitrary Prince, when they have no other way left for their Security.

On the other hand, The Tories made People swear in the Reign of King *Charles II.* that it was not lawful upon any pretence whatsoever to take up Arms against the King, or any Commission'd by him. So that had the King Commission'd a parcel of Ruffians to cut your Throat, to fire your House, or to ravish your Wife and Daughter, you were forbid, according to this Doctrine, to oppose them by force of Arms, and that under penalty of Damnation. Thus Dr. *Sacheverel* avers the utter illegality of Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever, to be the Doctrine of the Church of England. Now to demonstrate to you that the establish'd Church owes its present Safety to that Whiggish Principle I have just now mention'd, I need only desire you to look back to the Prince of *Orange's* Expedition in 88, and you will find that he actually rescu'd it from the most apparent Dangers ; and that this was done by the Concurrence of our Nobility, Gentry and Clergy with him, in Opposing or Resisting King *James*, and such as were commission'd by him.

I can hardly prevail with my self to cast such a Reflection upon your Understanding, as to attempt the Proof of that which falls within the Compass of your own Knowledge and Experience. That you owe the Preservation of your Civil and Religious Liberties, to the seasonable Interposition of the late K. *William*, is a Truth that has been frequently confess'd by our Universities, Parliament and Convocation. “ We are daily sensible, (say the Gentlemen of *Cambridge*, in their Address to King *William*, but a little before his Death) “ That we entirely owe the Safety of our Religion “ and

“ and Liberties to your Auspicious Government.” (a) And those of *Oxford*, (in their Address presented in 1697) confess themselves indebted to him, for the *Deliverance of Church and State*. (b) But to what End shall I cite Authorities of this Nature, when they have many Times over acknowledg’d the same Thing in their most solemn Prayers to Almighty God? To say nothing of the Forms made use of upon Occasional Fasts and Thanksgivings; in the Service appointed for the Fifth of November, there is a *Collect* in which you will find the following Expressions. “ Almighty God and Heavenly Father, who, — — didst likewise upon this Day wonderfully conduct thy Servant our late King, and bring him safely into this Kingdom, to preserve us from the late Attempts of our Enemies, to bereave us of our Religion and Laws.” And in the last Prayer appointed for that Occasion, you have such Words as these. “ O God, — — — — — who on this Day also didst begin to give us a mighty Deliverance, from the open Tyranny and Oppression of the same Cruel and Blood-thirsty Enemies: We bless and adore thy Glorious Majesty, as for the former, so for this thy late marvellous Loving-kindness to our Church and Nation, in the Preservation of our Religion and Liberties, &c.” So unless they prevaricate with GOD himself, they believe and know that the Deliverance, Safety and Preservation of the Church, are all owing to the successful Undertaking of the late King of glorious Memory.

But by what Means did he accomplish that vast Design? Was it not by putting in practice that Whiggish Principle of Resistance in case of absolute Necessity. I know it has been confidently affirm’d by some, That there was no Resistance made to King *James* at the late Revolution. But certainly this is the greatest Imposition upon the Senses and Reason of Mankind, that has ever been known. Was not King *James* Resisted, when his Forts and Garrisons of *Plymouth*, *Portsmouth*, *Hull*, and other Places were seiz’d on, and their Governors imprison’d with his Commission in their Pockets? Was he not resisted when his Troops were beaten, and his Soldiers knock’d on the Head at *Wincanton*, *Reading* and *Cirencester*? Did not the Nobility and Gentlemen, who rendezvouz’d at *Nottingham*, and with whom the then Princess of *Denmark* joyn’d herself, declare to all the World, “ That they accounted him a Tyrant, who made his Will his Law, and

“ that

“to resist such an One, was esteem’d by them to be no Rebellion, but a necessary Defence. (a) Did not the Bishop and Clergy of London, affirm in their Address presented to her late Majesty, Aug. 22. 1710, and glory in it, That they *vigorously and successfully withstood Popery and Arbitrary Power, when breaking in upon our Constitution.* And is it not obvious to the Apprehension of all Mankind, that to *withstand* is the very same Thing as to Resist? To all which I might add, that in one of the Collects for the Fifth of November, God is bless’d for giving his late Majesty a safe Arrival, and making all Opposition fall before him. And pray what Difference is there betwixt Opposition and Resistance? Upon the whole, if you will believe, Lords, Commons, and Convocation; if you will believe your own Prayers; nay, if you will believe your own Eyes, and the Experience of the whole Nation, you must be forced to confess, that the Church of England owes its Preservation and very Being to that Resistance or Opposition, call it which you please, which was made to the late King James, when he attempted to subvert the Constitution and bring in Popery.

On the other Hand, let us suppose for once, That the Nation had at that Time govern’d itself by the Tory Principle of *Passive Obedience*, &c. What had been the Consequence? The Church of England had been quite ruin’d, and you would have had the Mass-Book instead of the Common-Prayer: Instead of adoring God, you must have worshipp’d a Consecrated Wafer. You had had an Army of barbarous bigotted *Irish*, domineering in your Streets and Houses; and swarms of Monks and Friars polluting your Temples. And can you be fond of a slavish Notion, which if adhered to, would have drawn after it such a fatal Train of insupportable Mischiefs?

If These Things were but duly consider’d, if Men lay aside their Prejudices, restrain their Passions, and consult their Reason; they would never Curse and Damn the Whigs as Enemies to the Church, and that for espousing Principles to which the Church stands indebted, not only for its Prosperity, but for its very Being? What a strange Infatuation must those Persons be under, who cry up Dr. *Sacheverel* as the great Support of the Church, when had the Doctrines he preaches up been generally practis’d, it had been infallibly ruin’d and undone? From what has been said, I doubt not

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(a) Hist. of K. William III. Vol. I. p. 254.

you will confess with me, that a Man may be a Whig, and yet a real Friend to the Establish'd Church,

Ans. 2. This will be further evident, if you consider that the Whigs, during their Administration, Enacted many Laws for the real Welfare of the Church, but none to its Disadvantage. It cannot be denied, but that the Second and Third Parliaments in the late Queen's Reign, were such as we now call Whiggish: In the latter of these the Dr. was impeach'd, and in the former, Mr. *Smith* was chosen Speaker in Opposition to Mr. *Bromley*. Now if you consult the publick Records of the Kingdom, you will find many such Bills passing the Royal Assent, whilst Her Majesty was under the Influence of a Whiggish Ministry. But to satisfy you by particular Instances.

Whoever is acquainted with the present State of Ireland must know, that the Papists in that Kingdom, exceed in Number the Reformed of all Denominations, at least Six or Seven for One. This is in some measure owing to a scarcity of Learned Ministers in Country Places: And that again to the Impropriation in many Parishes, which being in Lay-Mens hands, there is so small an Income left for the Vicar, that a Clergy-Man of worth, can scarce be found to supply the Cure. Besides all this, the Ruins and Devastations occasioned by the late Wars, have reduc'd abundance of publick Churches to heaps of Rubbish. To remedy this Inconvenience, the Parliament made an Act in the Fifth of the Queen, for *Appropriating the forfeited Impropriations in Ireland, for the building of Churches, and Augmenting poor Vicaridges there.* I hope this will not prove them to be the Church's Enemies.

In the same Year there was an Act made for discharging all Livings under the Value of 50 *l.* per Annum, from the Payment of their first Fruits and Tenths, and all Arrears thereof. And every Body must acknowledge this to be a great Relief to all the poorer Clergy.

In the Seventh of the Queen there was an Act made for the better Preservation of Parochial Libraries in that Part of Great Britain called England. Now whoever knows any Thing of the World must be convinc'd, that it is impossible for a Man to make a tolerable Figure in the Learned World without the advantage of a good Library, the Expence of which, is too great to be born by a poor Clergy-Man, who has but a small Benefice, and perhaps a numerous Family. To obviate this Inconvenience, the Parliament gave publick Encouragement for

for the Erecting and Preserving a well-furnished Library in every Parish. And I hope the Clergy will not account them their Enemies for this.

As the hope of Reward is a great Incentive to generous and noble Undertakings; so that the Clergy might be encouraged to prosecute their Studies with a becoming Industry, there was an Act pass'd in the Eighth of the Queen, *for the Encouragement of Learning, by Vesting the Copies of Printed Books in the Authors or Purchasers of such Copies.* So that now the Professors of the Learned Sciences may reap the Fruit of their own Ingenuity and Diligence. I might here observe, That the Tory Parliament which succeeded this, was so far from imitating their Whiggish Predecessors, that they made Books, and by Consequence Learning itself much dearer, by laying a heavy Duty upon Paper, Past-board and Printing, and no less than 30 *l. per Cent.* upon all imported Books. Now why these Gentlemen who discourag'd Learning, should be look'd upon as better Friends to the Church and the Clergy, than those who gave all possible Encouragement unto it; This I profess is a Mystery that I cannot understand.

I cannot chuse but take Notice of another Instance of the Zeal that House of Commons had for the Church. When they first came together, there was a Paper address'd to them by Mr. *Humphrey*, a Nonconformist Minister, containing Reasons for abolishing the Test, and admitting Dissenters to a Share of the Government. This Proposal was so far from being agreeable unto 'em, that they receiv'd it with Indignation; and not only oblig'd the Old Gentleman to attend their Committee, but order'd his Paper to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hang-man. This News, I remember, was received in the Country with publick Rejoycings; and the Parliament had the Hosanna's of that very Party, which was for Crucifying them about two Years afterwards, when they undertook to prosecute a publick Incendiary.

I shall conclude this Head with a Statute made the last Session of Parliament, *For the better Maintenance of Curates, and for preventing any Ecclesiastical Person from buying the next Avoidance of any Church Preferment.* This will put a Check to a very scandalous Practice that was encreasing in the Nation, and save the Clergy some Thousands *per Annum* in their Pockets. I know not why the Whigs may not have the Honour of it, since 'twas brought into the House by Sir *Peter King*, now Lord Chief Justice. who was one of the Managers,

nagers, and guilty of that unpardonable Crime of Pleading strenuously against Dr. *Sacheverel*.

And now methinks the Whigs may address the Church-Party as our Saviour did the *Jews*; Many good Acts have we done, and for which of all these do you Stone us? Is the Care we have taken to erect New Churches in *Ireland*, an Argument that we had form'd a Design to pull down the Old Ones here in *England*? Must we needs be implacable Enemies to the Clergy, because we have made Provision that they may have a little more Learning in their Heads, and a little more Money in their Pockets? Have we promoted the Interest of Infidelity, and Deism, by putting Books into the Hands of the poorer Vicars and Curates, by the due Use of which, they may be the better enabled to Confute a Heretick, and Stop the Mouths of all Gainsayers? Upon the whole, let the Whigs but have fair Play, let their Affections to the Church be judged of by their own publick Acts, and not by the senseless Clamours of their declar'd and selfish Enemies. and they will appear to be as real Friends to it, as those who causelessly insult them.

Ans. 3. This will appear more evidently, if you consider that the Instances commonly made use of, to prove the Whigs Enemies to the Church, will bear as hard upon the Tories; which was the next Thing I undertook to demonstrate.

Inst. 1. One Instance of their pretended Disaffection to the Church, is, Their allowing of a Toleration to Protestant Dissenters. I shall not at present insist upon it, that Persecution for Conscience Sake, is a Thing directly contrary to the Spirit and Genius of Christianity. I shall only observe to you, That such an Indulgence is in itself, a Thing so beautiful and lovely, so suitable to the Generosity and Compassion of a Noble Nature, that it has been publicly declared for by both Parties. That House of Commons which met upon the late Queen's changing of her Ministry, did thus express themselves, in an Address presented to her Majesty, Dec. 2. 1710, "As we are Fellow-Christians, and Fellow-Subjects
" with those Protestant Dissenters, who are so unhappy to
" entertain Scruples against Conformity with our Church,
" we are desirous, and determin'd, to let them quietly enjoy that Indulgence which the Law hath allow'd them."
Nay, Dr. *Sacheverel* himself hath declar'd the same, in the Speech pronounc'd by him at his Tryal. "I have
" no where (says he) in my Sermon shewn any the least
" dislike

" dislike of the Indulgence granted by Law to Dissenters ;
 " On the contray, I have declar'd my Approbation of it in
 " the most exprefs Terms imaginable (a)." Now if the
 Approbation of the Indulgence proves a Man an Enemy to
 the Church, it proves the same against the Doctor and his
 greatest Patrons ; unless you suppose him guilty of a most
 notorious and solemn Lye.

2. Another Instance made use of to abuse the Whigs, is,
 the Infidelity and Atheism of the Age, which they are pre-
 tended to Countenance and Abett. Thus Dr. *Walker* Com-
 plements our Nobility and Gentry, by representing them de-
 bauch'd in their Civil and Religious Principles (b). Affirm-
 ing, " That the Attempts (of Libertines) upon our young
 " Nobility and Gentry are too successful (c)." In one
 Word, he describes the greatest Men in the Nation, as ex-
 ploded Hereticks, profligate Libertines, open Atheists and
 Blasphemers (d).

1. *Reply*, To silence this Objection, 'twill be sufficient to
 observe, That Infidelity prevail'd as much whilst the Dissen-
 ters were oppress'd and persecuted, as it has done since they
 were indulg'd ; and that 'it was altogether as much Counte-
 nanced by the *Tories* in the Reign of K. *Charles*, as it is pre-
 tended to have been since by the *Whigs* in the Reign of King
William and Queen *Anne*. To prove this Assertion, I shall not
 produce the Testimonies of *Baxter*, *Bates*, or *Owen* ; this may
 be objected against in them as the Effect of Spleen and Dis-
 content, or a Design to defame Government. But the Evi-
 dences which I intend to bring on this Occasion, shall be the
 true, the genuine and unsuspected Sons of the Church of *Eng-
 land*, such as are above all Exception.

The first Witness that I produce, is Dr. *Robert South*, who
 was for divers Years Orator to the Famous University of *Ox-
 ford*. This Gentleman hath oblig'd the World with several
 Volumes of excellent Discourses, amongst others, we have a
 Sermon Preach'd by him at *Westminster-Abby*, in the Year
 1667. in which the Doctor most vehemently declaims against
 " those lewd and shallow-brain'd Huffs, who made Atheism
 " and Contempt of Religion, the sole Badge and Character
 " of Wit and Gallantry." 'Twas upon the Account of their
 Insolence and Numbers he thus expresses himself : " Certain
 " it is, that Blasphemy and Irreligion have grown to that
 " daring

(a) Vid. his Tryal, p. 337. (b) Preface, &c. p. 7. (c) Ib
 (d) Page 10.

“ daring height here of late Years, that had Men in any so-
 “ ber, civiliz’d Nation, spoke or done half so much in con-
 “ tempt of their false Gods and Religion, as some in our
 “ Days and Nation, wearing the Name of Christians, have
 “ spoke and done against God and Christ, they would have
 “ been infallibly burnt at a Stake, as Monsters and publick
 “ Enemies of Society (a).”

The next Witness to the same purpose is Dr. *Tbo. Gumble*, who wrote the Life of General *Monk*; in which History, he has occasion to speak of that dreadful Pestilence, which in the Year 1665, swept away so many Thousands of the Inhabitants of *London*; on which he makes this following Remark: “ We may safely conclude, that Atheism was no small Cause of that Plague and Judgment: And that God was forc’d to assert his Divinity by the Effects of his Wrath and Indignation. Civil Authority should controul this Monster. The *Athenians* banish’d *Protagoras*, and burnt his Book for but doubting a Divinity in his Preface; and would have put another Philosopher to Death for writing of the Moon’s Eclipse, after they had receiv’d her for a Goddess, if he had not had great Friends and Intercessors, which should shame us, that SUFFER many profane Wits to abuse our Saviour Christ NOW more in scurrilous Terms than the *Jews* did when they mock’d and crucify’d him (b). The Reader is desir’d to remember, That in this very Year Dissenting Ministers were banish’d five Miles from Corporations, and from those Parishes in which they did formerly Officiate; that is, from their Friends and Acquaintance, who might keep them and their Families from starving. I hope that the Promoters of such Severities may be exempted from the Scandal of being Whigs or Low-Church Men. And yet if these Reverend Divines deserve any Credit, Profane Wits were at that Time SUFFERED to abuse our Saviour; Impiety and Deism were patroniz’d by such as sat at the Helm, and the Civil Authority was far from controuling such daring Villains.

The next Testimony which I shall produce, is that of Mr. *Jos. Glanvil*, Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Charles II.* He has one Discourse concerning, *The Sin and Danger of Scoffing at Religion*, in which he thus expresses himself, “ Certainly, (says he) there was never any other Age, in which
 “ Sacred

(a) *South’s Sermons*, Vol. II. p. 48, 49. (b) *Gumble’s Life of General Monk*, p. 418, &c.

“ Sacred and Serious Things have been so rudely and impudently assaulted by the prophane Abuses of Jestors and Buffoons, who have been the Contempt of all Wise Times, but are the Darlings and Wits of these.--- A Man may tremble to describe this Monstrous Humour of many in our Age, which, I believe, hath outdone *all former* in the Heights of this amazing Wickedness. IN THESE DAYS, the Deriders of Religion face the Sun, and impudently vent their Folly in all Companies and Places *.” This was the Complaint made by this Ingenious Clergyman in the Year 1677, when there was no such thing as Occasional Conformity, or an Act of Toleration from which these Scandalous Impieties could be derived.

To the Testimonies of these Doctors I shall subjoin that of the late Learned Bishop *Bull*, who, in the Year 1685, Printed a Latin Treatise in Defence of the *Nicene* Faith, or the Doctrine of the Trinity. In his Preface to the Reader he assigns the Reason of this his Undertaking, and tells us, That many Candidates for Divinity, as well as other Persons, had in their Hands the Writings of *Christopher Sandius*, who openly defended the *Arian* Blasphemies, as if they had been the genuine Doctrines of the Primitive Catholick Church, as approved of by all the Fathers who lived before the *Nicene* Synod. From hence 'tis evident that Men may be debauch'd in their Principles at *Oxford* and *Cambridge* as well as other Places. And that the Accusation of these Men deserves not to be regarded, who pretend that all the Heresies of the Age owe their Original to Dissenting Academies. From these Authorities 'tis very evident, that when the poor Dissenters were Harass'd, Oppress'd and Banish'd, when the Tories were triumphant, and High Churchmen had all the Power in their own Hands, Blasphemy and Deism were as much Countenanced, as at any time since. And that those Impieties which abound amongst us are not the Effects either of a Whiggish Administration, or Indulgence to Dissenters.

2. *Rep.* If the Gentlemen employ'd by the Government be such a Crew of Infidels as they have been represented, Why are they admitted to the Communion of the Church? Nay, compell'd into it? Why are they forc'd to come before God's Altar? Why are the Sacred Elements expos'd to their polluted Hands, and they compell'd to receive them or quit their Places? The Primitive Christians would not permit a Pagan,

* *Sin and Danger of Scoffing at Religion*, p. 6—8.

Pagan, no, nor yet an Un-baptized Catechumen to be present at the Celebration of the Holy Eucharist. And can the Establishment in *England* boast of its Conformity to the Primitive Church, if it Contradicts it in such an Important Article, and constrains profess'd Hereticks and Deists to take the Body and Blood of our Lord into their unhallowed Mouths? Why are the Clergy so fond of an Act which occasions (if their Accusation be true) such a Pollution of the Church, or how can the Church be Secured by those very Things with which it is Defiled?

3. Rep. After all the Noise that hath been made against the great Increase of Libertines and Atheists, I could wish that our High-flying Clergy would lay their Hands upon their Breasts, and seriously bethink themselves, how much they themselves have, by their own ill Conduct, contributed to the Propagation of Infidelity. If we peruse the Pamphlets that have been lately printed on purpose to insult and abuse the Clergy, and to represent all Religion as nothing else but Priest-craft; We shall find that there is nothing gives them a greater Handle than that apparent Inconsistency, that there is between the declared Principles of some of the Clergy, and their most solemn Oaths and Prayers. We may very well suppose these Sparks arguing after this manner; We have seen the Illegallity of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever, recommended, both in Sermons and Addresses, as an *Apostolical* Doctrine; And yet the Assertors of this Notion would Swear, that King *William* was Lawful and Rightful King, tho' he got his Kingdom by Resistance: They can give God Thanks every Fifth of November, for sending him over, and making all *Opposition fall before him*. From hence 'tis evident to a Demonstration, That they themselves believe not one Word of it the Day they preach it, and that 'tis calculated for no other End, but to make their Court to Princes, and to flatter such as are able to promote 'em. Now, if one of their *Apostolical* Doctrines be a meer Sham, Why may we not conclude so of all the rest? This seems to be the Language of those who treat revealed Religion with Contempt and Scorn. And I wish that they who have laid such a Stumbling-block in their way, would take a speedy, and an effectual Method to remove it.

It must indeed be own'd and lamented, that some of both Parties indulge themselves in too great a Liberty, And in the pursuit of their Pleasures break over those Bounds, which Infinite Wisdom hath prescribed unto 'em. But certainly, the

the Tories have no Reason to triumph over their Adversaries upon the Account of their Sobriety. That the latter have the Advantage in the Country is very evident. I am indeed a Stranger at Court, but I have read in publick Papers of very great Men, and great Zealots too, who have given Portions with their Natural Daughters, &c. a genteeler Term for Bastards. And sure I am, that a Noise for the Church, and for a Bill against Schism, will never arone for Whoredom and Adultery. This must be acknowledg'd for the Honour of the Whigs, that during their Administration, they prefer'd such as were fit for the Posts assign'd 'em: Valiant Commanders in the Army; skilful Mariners in the Navy; and excellent Divines in the Church. 'Tis true, when a Gentleman presented himself to the Duke of Marlborough for a Commission, I presume his Grace did not think himself oblig'd to make him repeat the Articles of his Creed, or to examine him about his Faith. This might very well be left to the Person who gave him the Communion. 'Tis possible a Man that is a Deist may serve well enough to mount a Breach, or lodge upon a Counterscarp. But 'tis absolutely impossible, that such a Fellow should make a good Divine. This is a Contradiction in the very Nature of the Thing. Notwithstanding this, there is a certain Clergy-Man who has publickly ridicul'd the most Sacred Mysteries, and represented the Religion, both of the Presbyterians, Papists, and Church-Men, as nothing else but a *Tale of a Tub*. However, because he employ'd his Talents in abusing the Duke of Marlborough, the *Dutch* and our best Allies; This very Man has been, by the zealous Patrons of the Church, prefer'd to the highest Ecclesiastical Dignity next to the Mitre. And if we may believe a Noble Peer, was a few Months since in a fair way of being made a Bishop, tho' hardly suspected to be a Christian (a). So that should our Tories object to their Adversaries the encouraging of Infidels and Deists; The Dean of St. P-----k's, will be a Witness against 'em, and put 'em out of Countenance, if they have the smallest Remains of Modesty.

Inst. 3. Another Instance of the pretended Enmity of the Whigs against the Church is, Their Prosecution of Dr. *Sacheverel*. Now, tho' we should grant that he was altogether innocent of the Misdemeanours he was found guilty of by the Supreme Court of Judicature, the whole Stress of your

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Argument

(a) E. of N-----m. Vid. *Political State* for June, p. 484.

Argument would lie in this Proposition, That he who affronts, or persecures an innocent Clergy-Man, must be an Enemy to the Church. But are the Doctor's Patrons and Disciples willing to be try'd themselves by this Rule? If so, they will be found to be some of the greatest Enemies to the Church of *England*, of any in the whole Kingdom.

Their Treatment of the Bishop of *Ely*, is sufficient to prove this; he was guilty of no other Crime, than writing a Preface to some Sermons, in which he did Honour to the Memory of King *William*, and spoke advantageously of our renowned General. Upon this, the House of Commons order'd his said Preface to be burnt by the Hands of the Common Hang-man. 'Tis true, they did not take him into Custody, for he was out of their Reach; but they put the greatest Affront upon him they were able. Now, as his Lordship's Character was far superior to the Doctor's, so the Indignity offered to him must be proportionable. And therefore, if the Church was wounded thro' the Sides of a Doctor, much more so, thro' the Sides of a Bishop. And if the Whigs were Criminal in the former Case, the Tories are eminently so in the latter.

If we consider the Temper of those who are most zealous for the Doctor, we shall find that no People in the Nation are so furiously set against some of the Clergy as they have been. Particularly against Mr. *Hoadley*; How insolently has he been treated by them! Forc'd, as I have heard, to abscond for fear of his Life in some of the *London Riots*. How often have his Books and his Effigies been burnt? I have read in one of the *Paris Gazettees* a particular Relation of the Burning Mr. *Hoadley's* Books in the City of *Exeter*. I know that Reverend Divine is curs'd and rail'd against under the Notion of a *Presbyterian*. But this is so far from being true, that he has written ten Times more for Conformity, for Episcopacy, and against the Dissenters, than the Doctor ever did, or can do. 'Tis true, he doth not call them by so many ugly Names; but as for his Arguments, they who are not convinc'd by them, do yet own them to be as Plausible as any that have been produc'd. Upon the whole, Whoever considers the Indignities with which this Gentleman; the Dean of *Exeter*, Mr. *Acres*, and some other Divines have been treated by a High-Church Rabble, must be forc'd to acknowledge, That if abusing a Clergy-Man, be a Sign of Enmity to the Church, the Tories, and their Disciples, are some of the fiercest Enemies that she has.

OBJECT

OBJECT. II. The Second Popular Objection against the Whigs is, That they are *Men of Antimonarchical, and Republican Principles*. Under this Invidious Character they have been rail'd against by numberless Pamphlets and Addresses. Thus Dr. *Walker* tells the World, " They are by Nature and Principle Enemies to his Majesty's Crown, " that such of them as guarded the late Queen's Throne, " were, upon the least Dislike, as ready to guard the Scaffold (a)." With a great deal more to the same Purpose. When I first read those canting Phrases, with which the Addresses of the late Reign abounded, I was at a loss to find out their proper and determinate Meaning : But was at last satisfied, by reading the Address from the University of Oxford, presented to her Majesty, April 28. 1710. in which they *disclaim giving any Countenance to that Popish Republican Doctrine of Resistance of Princes*. So that if any Thing proves the Whigs to be Republicans, 'tis their espousing this Doctrine ; I have already shewn you in what Sense, and with what Limitations they are not ashamed to own it. And I hope to satisfy you, that the Subversion of the *British Monarchy*, is a Consequence which by no means flows from this Principle. In order hereunto, I will demonstrate to you, (1.) That the Persons employ'd by her late Majesty when she chang'd her Ministers, and who have all along been cried up as truly Loyal Church-men, have yet declared as publicly for Resistance in some extraordinary Cases, as any of those who were at that Time discarded from her Service. (2.) That the Tories have offered greater Indignities to the Crown, and laid greater Restraints upon the Prerogative than the Whigs have done. (3) That an unlimited Passive-Obedience and Non-Resistance is no Doctrine of the Church of *England*, whatever the Advocates for Slavery may pretend to the contrary. And (4.) That it is morally impossible, that the chief Patrons amongst the Whigs should have form'd a Design to erect a Commonwealth upon the Ruins of the *British Monarchy*.

Ans. 1. I am in the first Place to prove, That the Gentlemen taken into the Ministry upon the Dr.'s Tryal, declared as much for Resistance, as those who were dismissed from their Employments. Of which for your fuller satisfaction, I shall give you several particular Instances.

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And here 'tis fit the late Lord Chancellor *Harcourt* should have the Precedence. This noble Lord, was Council for Dr *Sacheverel*, and made a very ingenious Speech in Defence of his Client; but was so far from Vindicating his slavish Notions, that he acknowledges, " There was Resistance used at the Revolution, and that it was not inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Church of *England*; nor with the Laws of *England*. He own'd, That he did not differ from many of the Managers in their Notions of Allegiance. Nay, he supposes, such extraordinary Cases may happen, not only wherein Resistance may be Lawful, but wherein it becomes an indispensable Duty (a)." Now I would fain know a Reason, Why such an Expression as this must be damnable and wicked in the Mouth of a Whig, and yet an Orthodox Doctrine, or at least an innocent Assertion in One of another Character?

The next in Dignity, who deserves to be remember'd in this Place is, the late Lord High Treasurer of *Great Britain*, the Earl of *Oxford*, who, whilst *Robert Harley* Esq; appear'd earlier than any of his Country-Men in the late happy Revolution; " Having for that Purpose, rais'd at his own Expence a Troop of Horse, at the Head of which, he join'd the Prince of *Orange* (b)." I cannot suppose any One so vain and trifling, as to object, That those Troopers were Arm'd only with Prayers and Tears, instead of Pistols and Carbines.

His Grace the Duke of *Shrewsbury* was one of the first the late Queen thought fit to advance when she dismiss'd her old Ministers. He has since had the Honour of representing her Majesty's Person, both at the Court of *France*, and in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. But so far was this Nobler Peer from being a Patron to slavish Principles, or delighting to see his Country-Men in Chains, " That having Mortgag'd his Estate for Forty Thousand Pounds *Sterling*, he went over to the Prince of *Orange*, to offer him both his Sword and his Purse (c). He accompany'd that Prince in his successful and glorious Expedition (d)." With the assistance of Sir *John Guise*, he forc'd the Duke of *Beaufort* to surrender the City of *Bristol*, tho' he had King *James's* Commission in his Pocket (e). And
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(a) Tryal of Dr. *Sacheverel*. 8vo. p. 182, 183, 184. (b) *Politic. State for May, 1711*. p. 446 (c) *Hist. of K. William*. Vol. I. p. 191. (d) *Ib.* p. 227. (e) *Ib.* p. 253.

was one of the three Lords sent with a Message to the King that oblig'd him to leave *Whitehall* the next Morning (a). In one Word, By contributing so much to the Deliverance of *England*, he has render'd the Name of *Talbot* more Illustrious than any of his renown'd Predecessors, by the Conquest they heretofore made in *France*.

Another Noble Peer who came over with the Prince of *Orange*, was the Lord *Mordant*, now Earl of *Peterborough* (b), who commanded that Party of Horse which oblig'd the Citizens of *Exon* to open their Gates to the *Dutch Army*. Notwithstanding this Opposition to King *James*, her Majesty was so far from esteeming him an Enemy to her Crown and Dignity, or a Man of Republican Principles, that when she Disbanded her old Ministry, she was pleas'd to advance this Noble Earl to a Post of great Trust and Honour, and to employ him in a Negotiation of great Importance.

To these Noble Peers already nam'd, I might add the Lord *Colchester*, since Earl of *Rivers*, who joyn'd the Prince of *Orange* at *Exeter* (c), but upon the great Turn of Affairs, three or four Years since, was made Master General of the Ordnance in the room of the Duke of *Marlborough* (d). The Lord *Cornbury*, since Earl of *Clarendon*, who brought his Regiment of Dragoons with him, to render his Service to the Prince (e). The Duke of *Ormond*, who joyn'd his Highness at *Sherbourn-Castle*, with many others of the first Rank (f). These Noble Lords were all preferr'd after the Tryal of *Sacheverel*, as Friends to the Constitution in Church and State, so no doubt they are; but they all concurr'd in rescuing their Native Country from Popery and Slavery. They were all concern'd in the Resistance made use of, as a necessary Means to bring about the late happy Revolution. And, Why now may not a Whig think Resistance, in an extraordinary Case, Lawful, as well as a Tory, without being declar'd an Enemy to the Crown? Why must that be a Republican Doctrine in the former, which is fairly consistent with the strictest Loyalty in the latter? Are not those then miserably deluded who roast Confusion to those Principles, which have been actually practis'd by their own Patrons? I may defy the whole World, to produce the least shadow of a Reason, Why a resisting Whig may not be as much a Friend to Monarchy as a resisting Tory.

2. Ans.

(a) Ib. p. 297. (b) Hist. of K. *William III.* Vol. I. p. 227. (c) Hist. of K. *William.* Vol. I. p. 242. (d) An. of Q. *Anne* Vol. X. p. 313. (e) Hist. of K. *William.* Vol. I. p. 242. (f) Ib. p. 252.

2. *Ans.* I am in the next place to Demonstrate to you, that the Tories have offer'd greater Indignities both to their present and late Sovereigns than the Whigs ever did. I presume neither Party will boast of their extraordinary Civilities to *K. James the II.* when they both concurr'd in driving Him out of his Kingdoms. Let us therefore look back to the Reign of our glorious Deliverer King *William*, and we shall find that our great Pretenders to Loyalty hung all along like a dead Weight upon the Wheels of his Government; That they embarrass'd his Affairs, perplex'd his Counsels, reproach'd his Conduct, and made it their constant Business to thwart, disturb and vex Him. To give you an Instance or two of this Nature.

I take it for granted you have not forgot the Clamour that was rais'd against Him, because of the *Partition Treaty*: Or the Engagement he entered into with the *French* and *Dutch* to divide the *Spanish* Monarchy, in Case the Prince then reigning should die without lawful Issue. I could offer a great many things, were it my present Business, in Vindication of that Affair, such as the Languishing and sickly State of the *K. of Spain*, the *French* Kings Power, and Readiness to seize the whole Monarchy, before the other Princes of *Europe* could be in a Condition to oppose him, &c. But omitting these Considerations, 'tis own'd that that Treaty, or rather King *Lewi's* Distinction betwixt the Spirit and the Letter of it, was the unhappy occasion of a great deal of Mischief. This was represented to His Majesty by both Houses of Parliament, by the Lords, with a Decorum which became such an August Assembly. Whilst the Tories in the *House of Commons* treated him with a Bitterness and Rudeness never heard of within those Walls, unless when at open Defiance with their Sovereign. But hear what the Historian says, who is a Dignitary in the Church of *England*; "Some Members gave themselves a Loose in reflecting upon His Majesty, beyond all the bounds of Duty and Decency; intimating, how the Combination for Dividing another Man's Kingdom, might be compar'd to an Action on the Highway; with some other Expressions too gross to be related (a)."

Had any Member of a Whiggish *House of Commons* pass'd such a scurrilous Reflection upon his Sovereign, what would the Tories have said of him. In this Instance, you have To-
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(a) Hist. of England, Vol. III. p. 799.

ries representing their King as a Felon, or a Robber, without the least Censure pass'd upon them for it by any of their Party. And notwithstanding such a Conduct as this, they'll wipe their Mouths, and with an equal Mixture of Modesty and Truth assure you, that they, and such as espouse their Principles, are the only Men in *Great Britain*, who pay a due Respect and Deference to Crowned Heads. I might farther observe to you, that those very Gentlemen who rais'd so great a Noise against King *William* and his Ministers upon this Occasion, have themselves since that promoted a *Partition Treaty*, a Thousand times more disadvantageous to *England* than what they then exclaim'd against. For since *Spain* and the *West Indies* have been given up to the House of *Bourbon*, we find Our Selves in a manner excluded from the most profitable Branch of all our Trade. Whether ever this Part of our Commerce will be retriev'd I know not; but sure I am, it must be by other, and better Hands than such as have sacrific'd the Interest and Honour of the Nation to their own Ambition.

Another Instance of that Complaisance these Gentlemen bear to their Sovereign is this. After the Peace of *Reswick*, King *William* consented to an Act of Parliament for the Disbanding all his Forces; but was at the same time extremely loth to part with his *Dutch* Guards, a Regiment of Men, who had attended Him from his Cradle, and follow'd Him in all His Fortunes: And therefore he wrote a Letter with his own Hand to the *House of Commons*, letting them know, "If they could find out a way for the Continuing them longer in His Service; His Majesty would take it very kindly." 'Tis certain, no Danger could accrue to the Constitution from such an inconsiderable Handful of Men. And no Body doubred but his Majesty's Condescending Request would have been comply'd with. When, to the Wonder of all Mankind, his Message met with a scornful Repulse, and He could not be gratified in so small, so trifling a Matter (a). And I appeal to you, whether these Gentlemen have any Reason to boast of their good Humour, or of their obliging Carriage towards their Prince?

'Tis true; when Queen *Anne* gave the Tories their Hearts Desire, and loaded them with Riches and Honour; they were then her very humble Servants. No People in the World

World more ready to Flatter and Carefs Her, or to Compliment Her upon Her *Hereditary Title* and Her *Irresistible Power*. But if Preferment ran at any Time in another Channel, they were as ready with their Libels and Scandalous Memorials to make her Government uneasy. Nor can I suppose they consulted Her Majesty's Honour, when they prevail'd with Her to tell the Lords, *Decemb. the 11th. 1711.*

" That she was sorry any one could think She would not do
 " Her Utmost to recover *Spain* and the *West Indies* from the
 " House of *Bourbon*, when our Managers had agreed long before to leave all those in the Hands of *K. Philip*. And *England* was so far from doing *its utmost*, that our Successful General was presently discarded, and our Troops withheld from beating the *French* when they had an Opportunity the following Campaign.

As for the Conduct of our High-Flyers towards *K. George*, I need only refer you to the Tumults and Disorders raised by them on the Day of his Coronation, And you will find that from *William the Conqueror* to this very Moment, never any of our Princes was so outrageously insulted on the very Day of His Inauguration. His Majesty takes Notice in His Proclamation, how many of His good Subjects were beaten, maim'd and murder'd, their Persons abus'd, and their Houses assaulted; and all this by the avow'd Disciples of *Sacheverel*, without any Provocation given by the injur'd Persons, and for no other Reason in the World, but because they manifested their Joy for the Peaceable Accession of a Protestant Prince to the *British Throne*. However, by this the Faction hath taken Care to convince the World, that their Pretences to an Unlimited Loyalty, and Passive Obedience, are equally ridiculous and false. Had the Dissenters plaid such Pranks on the Coronation of *Q. Anne*, how had the Press and Pulpit roar'd against them as implacable Enemies to Monarchy? Their utter Extirpation had been scarce thought sufficient to atone for the Affronts offer'd to injur'd Majesty.

After all the Noise that hath been made by *Dr. Sacheverell*, he hath himself advanc'd a Notion more Antimonarchical than any Thing to be met with in the Writings of the Whigs. That the King is not the Supreme Power, or, that there is any Power Superiour to, or Co-ordinate with the Regal, is a Principle that has been all along exclaim'd against as Republican, and imputed to such as utterly disown it. But this is a Position laid down by the Doctor in express Terms. Thus, with an Air of Assurance peculiar to himself,

himself, he affirms, That at the late Revolution *there was no Resistance made to the supreme Power* (a). Now 'tis most certain King *James* was resisted, and that before his Abdication, he had the same Prerogative his Predecessors had, and therefore the Dr. by denying the King to be the supreme Power, advances a Republican Notion.

Perhaps it will be objected, There was no Resistance made to the supreme Legislative Power. To which I Reply,

1. If this be necessary to make a Resistance Criminal, then *Effex* and *Cromwell*, and such as first Fought against K. *Charles* the Martyr will appear Innocent, for they were so far from Fighting against the whole Legislature, that they receiv'd their Commissions from Part of it: *Viz.* the Lords and Commons.

2. At the Revolution there was no Parliament in Being, and therefore, that which had no Existence, could have no Power at all, either Supreme, or Co-ordinate, or of any other Denomination. Upon the whole, either the Dr. publish'd a wilful Falshood, or an Antimonarchical Principle, and his Disciples may understand him which of the two Ways they please.

I have already hinted to you, that our Pretenders to an unlimited Obedience, are as ready as any other People to clip the Wings of the Prerogative Royal, and to confine it within narrower Bounds. To give you an Instance of this Nature; In that Parliament which fell so heavily on the Partition Treaty, There was an Act made for the *further Limitation of the Crown, and better securing the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.* Anno 12. and 13. William III. In which it is provided, that after the Death of K. *William*, and the Princess *Anne*, and in Default of their Issue,

No Person who shall hereafter come to the Crown, shall go out of *England, Scotland, or Ireland* without Consent of Parliament.

That the next Successor shall not engage this Nation in a War for the Defence of his Hereditary Dominions, without Consent of Parliament.

That no Pardon under the Great Seal be Pleadable to an Impeachment by the Commons; with several other Restrictions of the like Nature. It would be no way decent for me to represent a Law in Being as unreasonable or unjust; But I may truly say, That those Limitations are a Diminution of the Prerogative; and that his present Majesty has not

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the same Power which his Predecessors did enjoy. Whence it necessarily follows, That our Tories have no just Reason to boast as if they were the only Friends to that Prerogative, which they themselves have lessen'd and impair'd.

Answ. 3. My next Reply to the Objection is, That unlimited Obedience, and absolute Non-Resistance are no Doctrines of the Church of *England*: But only of a few Noisie and Designing People in it. This will appear to be very evident if you consider that these Doctrines are altogether inconsistent, both with the Practices and Prayers of the Church of *England*.

As for the Practice of the Church of *England*, There is not one Reign since the Reformation of Religion, in which She has not given Countenance, and Assistance to some or other in defending their Religion or Constitution against their Oppressing Princes. This was demonstrated Three or Four Years since, in a little Treatise call'd the *History of Resistance*, &c. Which has not been confuted in any one Instance to this very Day: Tho' the Pamphlet was so well receiv'd, as to pass Eight or Nine Editions.

But those degenerate Notions are most abundantly confuted by the Prayers of the Church, of which I shall give you Two or Three Instances. In 1628. the Protestants in, and about *Rochell*, thought it lawful for them to defend themselves against those Instruments of Cruelty that were made use of to oppress 'em, being encouraged by the Assistance promised them from *England*. Upon which that City was Besieged for many Months together, by an Army Commanded by the *French King* in his own Person. In the mean Time several Fleets were prepared by *K. Charles I.* in Order to Relieve the Town, tho' all without Effect. Whilst this Expedition was depending, A publick Fast was appointed upon that Account, a Form of Prayer was drawn up and used in all our Churches, in which the Besieged were prayed for, as those who did fight God's Battles, and defend his Altars. And Success to them was earnestly implored. We are assured of this Matter of Fact by two eminent Prelates still living, who have seen and read this very Form (a). And can you suppose all the Bishops and Clergy in *England* at that Time to be

(a) Bishop of *Oxford's* Speech on *Sacheverel's* Tryal. Bp. of *Salisbury's* Vindication, &c. p. 70.

be so daringly prophane and wicked, as to mock God, and to beg Success for Men engag'd in a Design which they themselves look'd upon as Damnable and Wicked?

Again, in the Year 1690. *K. William*, attended by a numerous Train of our Nobility and Gentry, went over into Ireland, to fight an Army Commanded by *K. James II.* A Fast Day was appointed March 12. 1689, A Form of Prayer was Compos'd as usual on that Occasion, containing in it a Collect with this Title. *A Prayer for the King, to be constantly used during his Majesty's Expedition.* In which Form God was intreated to vouchsafe *His gracious Presence with him, and to bless him with VICTORY* and all good Success. I hope you will allow me, that the *English* did Resist *K. James*, when they routed his Army and drove him back to France. Now, if the Bishops and Clergy thought this Resistance unlawful, How could they pray to God for Success in an unlawful Enterprize? To suppose this would be to stigmatize them with the most disgraceful Character in the whole World. On the other Hand, if they thought it lawful, then the Illegality of Resistance upon any Pretence whatsoever can be no Doctrine of the Church. For how can that be the Doctrine of the Church which none of the Church-Men do believe? I have already hinted to you the Collect appointed for the Fifth of November, in which God is thanked for sending over *K. William*, and making all Opposition fall before him. And how can the Clergy think this Opposition to be sinful, and yet thank God for rendring it Successful? Upon the whole, How can those slavish Notions be the Doctrine of the Church, when they are a plain Contradiction to her very Prayers?

Before I dismiss this Head, I will Communicate unto you an Observation that I have made pretty applicable to the present Purpose. If you look into the Common-Prayer-Book, you will find prefix'd to it a Kalendar, in which are inserted the Names, not only of the Apostles; But several other Saints and Martyrs. Amongst many others, you have in the Month of June the Name of *Boniface*; or as it is in the larger Book of Common-Prayer, particularly in that prefix'd to the Quarto Bibles, and printed 1709. *Boniface B. of Mentz and Martyr.* If we consult the History of this Prelate, we shall find that he was born in *Devonshire*, educared in *Exon*, and held the first Rank amongst the Learned Men of that Age. Leaving England he went into Germany, preaching the

Gospel to the Inhabitants of that Country, who were then meer Heathens, and Planting many Churches amongst them; This recommended him to the Archbishoprick of *Mentz*, where he resided several Years; but was at last murder'd by some of the Superstitious Pagans, whilst endeavouring to reclaim them from their Errors (a).

The City of *Mentz* was at that Time a Member of the *French* Monarchy, and *Chilperic* IV. was King of *France*, a vicious and sottish Prince, entirely devoted to his Luxury and Ease; whilst the grand Affairs of the Nation were manag'd by *Pipin*, his first Minister of State, (or *Maitre du Palais* as he was then call'd.) This *Pipin* behav'd himself with a great deal of Bravery and Prudence, and perform'd many signal Services for the Wellfare of his Country. Inasmuch, that in an Assembly of all the Nobles and Bishops of the Kingdom, held at *Soissons* in 750. 'twas unanimously resolv'd upon, that *Chilperic* should be laid aside for his Unfitness to Govern, and *Pipin* placed in his Throne. This Resolution being taken, Bishop *Boniface*, as President, or Speaker of that Convention, made an Harangue to *Pipin*, telling him, that the *French* Nation had Elected him their King, being induc'd thereto by the Noble Acts he had already done, and by the great Hopes they had conceiv'd of him for the future. By the same Decree, (says the Historian) poor *Chelperic* was degraded, his Poll ordered to be shav'd, and he thrust into a Monastery (b). Thus in him ended the *Merovingian* Race, after a Succession of Nineteen or Twenty Kings. I am not concern'd whether the Assembly at *Soissons* did well or ill in this Affair. This is certain, we find that very Man reckoned amongst the Saints and Martyrs, who pronounc'd a Sentence of Deprivation upon his own Sovereign, and set the Crown upon his Rival's Head. And I will leave you to judge by this Instance, whether the Church of *England* can look upon Resistance in all Cases whatsoever to be a damning Sin.

Ans. 4. The last Thing I undertook to prove was, That the great Patrons of the Whigs, can't possibly entertain a Thought of turning the *British* Monarchy into a Commonwealth.

(a) *Cave's Histo. Literar.* p. 480, 481. (b) *De Serres Inve-taire Gener. de l'Histoire de France.* p. 36. *Vid. Chron. Abbat. Ursperg.* p. mih. 171.

wealth: My Reason is, because 'tis morally impossible they should act contrary to that mighty Principle of Self-love, which is implanted in our Natures, and interwoven with our very Constitutions. The Peers of *Great Britain* are possess'd of many valuable Privileges; They are the supreme Court of Judicature; the Dernier Resort of Justice; Their Consent is necessary to the Enacting of a new Law, or the Repealing of an Old one, with many other Advantages to which their Noble Birth entitles them. But should they pretend to set up a Common-wealth, they at the same Time pull down themselves from that superior Orb, in which they now shine with so much Lustre. This was actually their Case when *Cromwell* and his Faction turn'd this Nation into a Republick. People were then constrain'd to Swear, That they would be true to the *Common-wealth of England without King and House of Lords*. So that the Privileges of Peerage sunk entirely with the Prerogative of the Crown; and were both abjur'd together. And this would be the Case again, should the same Scheme of Government prevail. And now, can any one imagine, that so great a Number of our Nobility as are commonly called Whigs, should all combine together, to degrade themselves and their Posterity? That they should all conspire to trample their own Coroners under Feet, and to lay their Honour in the Dust? They must first abandon Reason, before such a wild and senseless Thought can enter into their Minds.

Before I dismiss this Head, it may be proper to consider the Character and Descent of some of those Noble Patriots, who were discarded after the Tryal of *Sacheverel*, and who have since been rail'd and address'd against, as Men of Antimonarchical Principles, and you will find, that they are the Posterity of such as were Confessors and Martyrs for Loyalty. The Earl of *Sunderland* was one of the first dismiss'd from his Office, and not the least hated; and yet the Grandfather of this Noble Lord, lost his Life in the Battle of *Newbery*, and by so costly a Sacrifice secur'd the Retreat of his Royal Master *K. Charles (a)*.

His Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*, lost his White-Staff at the same time, and yet his Grandfather follow'd King *Charles* to *Oxford*, suffer'd a voluntary Exile for his Sake, had his
great

(a) *Peerage of England*. p. 265.

great Estate Sequestred, and, together with the Countess Dowager, lent the two K. Charles's no less than three-score thousand Pounds (a).

The Duke of *Boulton* was another Peer of the first Rank, dismiss'd from his Lieutenancy of *Hampshire*, and, if I mistake not, from the Government of the *Isle of Wight*, tho' his Noble Ancestor kept *Basing-House* a Garrison for the King, and sustain'd several Sieges, to his prodigious Loss. The Earl of *Derby*, after many gallant Actions in the Field, lost his Head upon a Scaffold, being put to Death in 1651, and yet his Grandson must be laid aside from being Chancellor of the Dutchy in 1710 (b), I might mention the Lord *Comper*, whose Grandfather died a Prisoner for the Royal Cause (c), The Duke of *Montross* in *Scotland*, whose Ancestor, the Noble Marquis of that Name, did, and suffer'd more for the Sake of the Crown, than any one Man in the whole Kingdom. And the late Treasurer *Godolphin*, whose Family were all Cavaliers. But the last, and greatest of all, whose Name I shall presume to mention, is the Duke of *Marlborough*, whose Enemies have had the Impudence and Malice to represent him, as if he intended to set up himself a kind of Protector to a new-fangled Common-wealth. The Author of the *Peerage of England*, gives this short Account of his Father, *Sr. Winstan Churchill*, "That he adher'd to his Majesty in the grand Rebellion, and afterwards suffer'd for it." And in a Catalogue of the Lords and Gentlemen who compounded for their Estates, printed in 1655, I find the Name of *Winstan Churchill*, in *Com. Dor.* whose Composition cost him, 4446 l. 18 s. An Argument both of his great Activity and good Estate,

Thus I have given you a List of some of those Illustrious Persons, who were partly whisper'd, and partly Mobb'd and clamour'd out of the late Queen's Favour, as if they had been Enemies to Her Crown and Dignity; who have been persecuted these three or four last Years by the Tongues and Pens of a rude, licentious Party; till His Present Majesty did Justice to their Merit, and restor'd them to their former Posts. And now I appeal to every One's Reason, Whether there be the least shadow of a Probability, that Persons thus descend-

(a) *Kennet's Memoirs*, &c. p. 8. 22. (b) *Peerage of England*, p. 174. (c) *Ib.* Vol. II. p. 195.

ed, should be educated in Principles prejudicial to the *British* Monarchy? No, certainly! All the Noise that has been made about a *Republican-Faction*, is nothing but a Canting Amusement, the Contrivance of a few ambitious cunning Men, who aim at the raising of themselves upon the ruin of other People.

OBJECT. III. The Third Grand Charge brought against the Whiggish Ministry is, That during their Administration, they cheated the Nation, and put immense Sums of the publick Money into their own Pockets. Thus Dr. *Walker* tells the World, of those great Men, who in the Reign of Queen *Anne* were possess'd of the most important Posts in the Kingdom. " That they attempted the Ruin of it by " Plunder and Rapine; that they impoverish'd the Nation " by the Plunder of so many Millions, [as if they could " scarce be number'd] that they enrich'd themselves with the " Publick Spoil; and put prodigious Sums in their own Pockets. &c. (a). with much more to the same purpose, asserted indeed with a great deal of Confidence, but supported by no manner of Evidence. These are the Stories which have been industriously spread amongst the Common People, on purpose to prejudice them against their best Friends, and truest Patriots. Had these Men been such horrid Cheats, as Dr. *Walker* represents them, I should have been glad, if instead of being punish'd with a bare Dismission from their Offices, their Garters and White-Staves, had been exchange'd for Halters and Axes. But I am heartily persuaded, that they have been most abominably traduc'd and scandaliz'd, and that I am capable of laying such Matters of Fact before you, as will convince you of their Innocence, tho' I am wholly a Stranger to the *Exchequer*, and all the Offices belonging to it. Being willing to satisfy my Curiosity, I consulted the Acts of Parliament, the Votes and Representations of the House of Commons; the Reports of the Commissioners appointed to State and Examine the Publick Accompts; *The Debts of the Nation Stated and Consider'd*, in four Papers, printed for J. Baker, 1712. *The View of the Taxes, Funds, and Publick Revenue of England*, printed for Tim. Childe, 1712. From those Authentic Papers and Records, I have fetch'd such Materials,

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(a) Preface. p. 7, 8, 9.

as will, I doubt not, be a Justification of those great Men, who have been so barbarously traduc'd.

Ans^w. 1. The first Evidence which I shall produce to Vindicate the Whigs from the Charge just mention'd is, The modest, humble, charitable Dr. *Sacheverel*, who whilst he stood impeach'd at the Bar of the House of Lords, pronounc'd a handsome and well compos'd Oration. In which, with all Solemnity he affirms, "That the Queen in nothing more shews her Policy, and distinguishing Judgment, than in making Choice of such Ministers of State, who are acceptable to their Country, and express such a Zeal and Steadiness in its Service and true Interest, and whom nothing could bribe, or betray into a Party, wherein it might any way seem to be endanger'd (a)." So that if you will believe the Dr. the Whiggish Ministry were in the *true Interest* of their Country, and incapable of being *brib'd* into any Measures that were prejudicial to it. And does this Character of them agree with their having cheated the Nation of so many Millions? Either you must acquit the Whigs or condemn the Dr. Either he spoke the Truth when he pronounc'd them Innocent, or else he call'd God to Witness to an egregious Falshood.

Ans^w. 2. The next Testimony that Vindicates the Whigs from the Charge of imbezling the publick Money is, That of their declared Enemies the House of Commons, who thus express themselves in a Representation presented to her late Majesty, *June 4, 1711*. "We find that in several Years, the Service has been enlarged, and the Charge of it encreased beyond the Bounds prescribed, and the Annual Supplies granted by Parliament (b)." Hence it appears, that the Whiggish Ministry *spent* more Money in the Service of the Nation than they *receiv'd*, that therefore they did not put it in their own Pockets. For 'tis impossible that they should *lay it out*, and yet *board it up*; expend it on the *Publick*, and yet appropriate it to their own *private Use*. If a Steward lays out more Money in Provisions for a Family than is put into his Hands, he may run his Master in Debt, and transgress his Orders, but he can't be said to enrich himself with Plundering him by whom he was employ'd. As for the National Debts,

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(a) Tryal of *Sach*. p. 343. (b) *Annals of Queen Anne*. Vol. IX. p. 389.

an Ingenious Gentleman has given a particular Account of the Manner how, and the Occasions upon which they were Contracted. Which Account not being contradicted to this Day, I take to be exact and real. Upon the whole, the Tories own, that the Charge their Predecessors were at, was greater than the Supplies they receiv'd. Whence it follows, they could not put such prodigious Sums in their own Pockets as is pretended.

Answ. 3. Another Consideration which tends much to justify the Conduct of the Whigs is this, that the Ministry which succeeded them, had vast Sums of Money given them more than the former ever had, and yet did incomparably less with it. For the Truth of this I might content my self, by referring you to the late Queen's Speech to both Houses, June 12. 1711. In which she tells them, "That by the great Sums they had raised, the greatest ever granted to any Prince in one Session, they had restored the publick Credit (a)." But to give you entire satisfaction, I will set before your Eyes, the Sums granted each Year, beginning at the Year 1702. The Accompts for the Eleven first Years, I have transcribed from the Paper call'd, *A View of the Taxes, Funds, &c.* For the two last Years I have consulted the Acts of Parliament, and find for the Year 1713. There was granted, by a Land Tax. 1021299. 4s. 9d. by the Malt Tax 650000 *l.* In Exchequer Bills 1200000 *l.* and by the Civil List Lottery, 500000. In all 3371299 *l.* besides the odd Shillings. For the Year 1714. granted by the Land Tax, 1020588. the Malt Tax, 650000 *l.* by the State Lottery 1400000. The whole stands thus.

Monies Voted by Parliament.

	<i>l.</i>
1702 —————	3, 000, 000.
1703 —————	3, 694, 136.
1704 —————	3, 828, 886.
1705 —————	4, 670, 486.
1706 —————	5, 075, 757.
1707 —————	5, 540, 167.
1708 —————	5, 926, 849.

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Brought

(a) Annals of Queen *Ann.* Vol. IX. p. 399.

Brought over	31, 736, 281.
1709	6, 457, 830.
1710	6, 384, 260.
1711	6, 609, 295.
1712	6, 656, 967.
1713	3, 371, 299.
1714	3, 070, 588.
	64, 286, 520.

By perusing this Account of the National Expences you may observe, (1.) That more Money has been rais'd these last Three Years, since we have had a Cessation of Arms and a Peace, than there was the Three first Years of the War. (2.) That in the Years 1711, and 1712. several Hundred Thousand Pounds were granted to the Tory Ministry, more than the Whigs ever had when they had most. Nor can it be pretended, that these last great Sums were given to discharge the Debts contracted by the Whigs. For this is a Suggestion absolutely false in Matter of Fact. The Nation is at this Day indebted some Millions more than it was in 1710. 'Tis true, Provision has been made to pay the Annual Interests. But not one Farthing of the Capital Debt is yet discharg'd. Instead of that, it has been vastly augmented during the late Management.

And now I appeal to the Tories themselves, Whether it be not a barbarous Injustice, to rail against the present Ministers as Cheats, and Plunderers of the Publick, when the Truth on't is, They spent less Money than their Accusers, and did incomparably greater Service with it.

Ans. 4. The present Ministry may be further Vindicated by another Representation presented to the late Queen by the House of Commons, *March* 4. 17 $\frac{1}{2}$. In which they have this remarkable Expression; "It appears, (say they) by "Estimates given in, to your Commons, that the Sums necessary to carry on the Service for this present Year, in "the same Manner as it was perform'd the last Year, amount to more than Six Millions Nine Hundred and Sixty "Thousand Pounds, besides Interest for the publick Debt, "and the Deficiencies accruing the last Year (a)." Upon this

(a) Appendix to Annals of Queen Anne. Vol. X. p. 93.

this State of Affairs, give me leave to observe, (1.) That the Tory Managers spent in the compass of one Year 1711. more than Six Millions, Nine Hundred and Sixty Thousand Pounds; for had the Service of that Year been perform'd for less, so might the Service of the ensuing Year too, in the same manner. (2) It appears from the Accounts just now laid before you, that this is above half a Million more than the Whigs had allow'd them in any one Year whatsoever. If you reckon in the Debts contracted by these latter in the same compass of Time; 'twill still appear, that their Adversaries spent some Hundred Thousands of Pounds more than they ever did. (3) 'Tis also certain, that the Managers in 1711. perform'd no extraordinary Exploits with all this vast Treasure, except the throwing away 7 or 800 Men's Lives in the notable Expedition to *Canada*. Whence it necessarily follows, that since the Whigs did far more eminent and signal Services than the Tories ever did, and that at a less Expence of the Nations Treasure, therefore they are the more frugal Managers of the publick Revenue, and deserve Praises rather than Censures.

Ans. 5. A Fifth Argument which I shall lay before you to prove the Innocence of our abused Patriots, is taken from the *Report of the Commissioners appointed to take, examine, and state the publick Accounts of the Kingdom, &c.* Which Report was laid before the House of Commons this last Session, and printed 1714. Amongst other Things, it contains *A State of the Expence of the late War*. In it you have a particular Account of the Yearly Payments made by the Successive Pay-Masters of the Army, to the Forces in *Flanders, Spain, and Portugal*, to 13 February 1713. as also of the Annual Payments made by Mr. *How*, for Guards and Garrisons. There is also laid before you the Expence of the Ordnance to the 30th. of June 1713. and of the Transport Service to the 2d. of March last. And lastly, in the same Papers you have the Expence of the Navy, Victualling, Sick and Wounded, and Marine Regiments to the 30th. of September, 1713. And the Total of the Expence, amounts to Sixty-five Millions, Eight Hundred Fifty-three Thousand, Seven Hundred Ninety-nine Pounds, and odd Shillings. These are the Disbursements acknowledged by the Commissioners, who are profess'd Enemies to Whiggism.

Let us next take a View of the Receipts, and compare one with the other. If you cast your Eye a Page or two back,

you will find that the Total of the Monies Voted for, amounts to 64, 286, 520 *l.* But then, as the Expence of the Year 1714. is not included in the *State of the War*; so the Money given for that Year, which is 3070588. ought to be deducted, which reduces the gross Sum, to 61215932 *l.* But then we must add to this, 102185, spent in the Year 1701 on 12 Battalions sent to the Assistance of the *Dutch*, which makes the Sum received to be 61318117. The Money contributed by the Queen out of the Civil List, may amount about a Million more. If you subjoin to all this the Debts contracted during the Whiggish Administration, being 2306610. Yet all this will not amount to Sixty-five Millions expended in the War. Upon the whole, it appears by the Report of the Commissioners, that in 1713. near Sixty-six Millions were actually paid, and expended in the Land and Sea-Service. On the other Hand, if you compute all the Money given, and all the Debts contracted by the Whigs, it will not amount to such a Sum. To make up the said great Sum, you must add the Arrears due to the Forces, when this Scheme was laid before the House.

I will not pretend to give you an exact Calculation, but by what I have laid before you, it appears evident, That the Disbursements of the Revenue have been at least equal to the Receipts, and therefore 'tis impossible, that the Whigs should cheat the Nation of so many Millions as the Tories have thought fit to charge them with, without any Evidence to support their Accusation.

Ans. 6. Another Consideration which bespeaks the Innocence of these abused Patriots is, That notwithstanding all the Noise that has been made about their cheating of the Nation, not one of these pretended Plunderers has been Prosecuted in any Court of Judicature, and forc'd to refund his ill-gotten Treasures. If their Crimes were so notorious as they have been affirm'd to be, Why where they not punish'd according to their deserts? Is it credible that the Exchequer should be robb'd. of I know not how many Millions, and not one of these State Leeches found out, and forc'd to disgorge that Blood which he had sucked in: We had Commissioners appointed several Years successively, to *State and Examine the publick Accounts*, Gentlemen, who wanted neither Inclination nor Ability, to search out, and detect the Frauds of their Predecessors. And tho' this Commission hath cost the Kingdom 30 or 40 Thousand Pounds, I could never
yet

yet understand that the Publick has been so many Groats the better for all the Discoveries they have made. 'Tis true, I have heard of a rich Brewer expell'd the House for an alledg'd Mismanagement. But the Ministry which proeured, his Expulsion, employ'd him presently in the same Station and he supply'd the Fleet with Beer as formerly. Which makes me conclude him an honest Man than some People represented him.

You will object to me perhaps, the Vote of the House of Commons in 1710. " That there are Thirty-five Millions, " three hundred and odd thousand Pounds, for a great Part " whereof no Accounts have been laid before the Auditors, " and the rest not prosecuted by the Accountants and finish'd. I will not say, that this Vote was drawn up in these Terms, on purpose to abuse the Credulity of the People, and make them believe they were cheated, when really there was no such thing. But this is certainly the Use that some People made of it. This Affair has been set in a true Light, in a Paper call'd, *A State of the Thirty-five Millions*, and written, as it is generally said, by *Robert W—le Esq;* and not contradicted to this very Day by any of his Enemies. By that Paper it appears, That Accounts for more than Twenty-seven Millions, had been actually laid before the Auditors at the passing this Vote (a), That an Account of Three Millions more was just ready to be laid before them, and was really given in by the Pay-Master of the Army a few Days afterwards; That the Persons entrusted with the Publick Monies, could do no more than give in their Accounts to the proper Officers of the *Exchequer*, to be stated and examin'd by them. And that the only Reason why they were not finish'd, was the want of a Privy-Seal, to supply some Defects in Form, which could no other way be provided against. Of this, the same House of Commons was so very sensible, that they Address'd her late Majesty to grant a Privy-Seal to Mr. *Bridges* for the passing his Accounts. If you desire further Satisfaction, you may consult Mr. *W—le's* Relation of the Matter in the *Annals of Queen Anne*, Year the tenth. To what has been said, give me leave to subjoyn an Observation or two of my own.

'Tis

(a) V. Appendix to the Annals of Queen Anne. Vol X. P. 45.

'Tis remarkable, That the Names of all those Gentlemen who were accountable for these Thirty-five Millions, together with the Sums they were each of them charg'd with, were laid before the House, and publickly printed (a), and yet not one of them all has been prosecuted or molested for any Part of the said Monies: which is to me a Demonstration of their Innocence.

The Hon. *James Bridges*, Esq; was at that Time Pay-Master of the Forces, and was accountable for more than Fourteen of these Thirty-five Millions. And yet this Gentleman was continu'd in his Post as long as the War lasted, and a Privy-Seal desir'd by the Commons in his Favour, for the finishing his Accounts. Either therefore this Honourable Person was guilty of Cheating the Publick, or he was not; If guilty, why was he not prosecuted? Nay, why was he continu'd in a Capacity of doing greater Mischief? But if innocent, (which doubtless was the Case) you may by this Instance plainly see, That all the Noise that has been made about these Thirty-five Millions, is nothing but an Amusement, nothing but a politick Fetch of some Cunning Men, to prejudice the Country against their best Friends, and truest Patriots.

You may perhaps expect that I should say something in relation to the Noise and Clamour that has been rais'd against the Duke of *Marlborough*; a Hero, nor to be thought upon without blushing at the Disingenuity and Baseness of our own Country-Men. Ungrateful *Britons*! By Disgracing your renowned General, you defeated your own Victories, pull'd down your own Trophies, and gave new Life and Vigor to a fainting Enemy. One who was just ready to throw you the *Carte Blanche* and give you your own Terms. But 'tis not my Business to harangue, but to set plain Matter of Fact before your Eyes. Two Things have been objected to his Grace:

1. That he receiv'd of Sir *Solomon de Medina*, who was Contractor for the Bread and Bread-Waggons, a Yearly Present amounting to about five or six Thousand Pounds; to which his Enemies have added, That he hereby took the Bread out of the Soldiers Mouths. To this I reply:

1. That the Soldiers were not Sufferers at all upon this Occasion. You may enquire of such as were Disbanded, and

(a) V. Append. to Annals. Vol. X. p. 63.

and they will all inform you, That they were sufficiently supply'd. If you read the History of his glorious Campaigns, you will find, that never General was more chearfully obey'd, or more entirely belov'd. On the other hand, when his Grace was discarded, our Soldiers fell into Mutinies at *Ghent* and *Bruges*, which were not suppress'd without a great deal of Blood. Now I appeal to your own Reason, whether it be probable, that the Soldiers should be easy and contented whilst pinch'd and starving; and yet run into Mutinies and Riots, because their Bellies were fill'd, and their Grievances redress'd. Sure this is not according to the usual Workings of Humane Nature. But then,

2. This Present made the Duke was a Perquisite which the Commander in Chief, in the *Low-Countries*, had constantly receiv'd of these Contractors, Time out of mind; in the Report of the Commissioners, &c. Printed by the Speaker's Order 1712. You have a Certificate of Mr. Mercado, attested by a Notary Publick in *Holland*, "That he, with others, was interested in the Bread-Contracts in the former War; and that it was the Usage and Custom for the Contractors to give Annually a very considerable Present to the Commander in chief, which Gratifications were proportionable to the Number of the Troops." You have in the same Report, a Certificate of Monsieur Cardosa, attesting, "That he had been Six-and-twenty Years Purveyor-General of Ammunition-Bread to the Troops of his Catholick Majesty, and some of the Allies, and that he constantly presented the (*Spanish*) General with a Sum of Money; and that he saw the same practis'd by his Uncle in the War of 1672 (a)." And Sir John Germain attested at the Bar of the House, "That what his Grace receiv'd of the Contractors, were customary Perquisites, and as such, formerly allow'd to Prince Waldeck, the Dutch General, under whom Sir John had serv'd (b)." By this 'tis evident, that the Duke did no more than other Generals did before him. And you may as well impeach the Lord Chancellor, or Master of the Rolls, for taking two, three or five Thousand Guineas on the Disposal of a vacant Office in their Court. If the Custom of Predecessors be a Vindication of the latter, as no doubt it is, the same will justify the former too.

2. A

(a) V. of the Report of the Commissioners. p. 12, 13. (b) An. of Queen Anne. Vol. X. p. 328.

2. A second Article brought against the Duke of Marlborough, is, His deducting two and a half *per Cent.* out of the Money payable to the foreign Troops. To which it has been reply'd : (1.) That he was authoriz'd by the late Queen under her own Hand and Seal, to do what he did in this Affair. To which I may add, That this Warrant was granted in the first Year of her Reign, before she was under the Influence of a Whiggish Ministry. (2.) This was done with the Consent and Approbation of those Princes, who put their Troops into the *English-Service*. And, (3.) His Grace solemnly protests, " That all the Sums he receiv'd on that Head, were constantly employ'd in procuring Intelligence in keeping Correspondence, and other secret Service (b)." 'Tis most certain upon the whole, the Duke had very good Intelligence of the Enemy's Motions ; insomuch, that he was never once surpriz'd himself, tho' he frequently surpriz'd the most vigilant of all their Generals. 'Tis equally certain, this Intelligence could not be procur'd but at a great Expence, when every one of his Spies ran the hazard of his Life. And to expect that he should give an Account of the Monies thus bestow'd, is to expect that he should betray such as have put their Lives into his Hands, in order to be hang'd or broken on the Wheel. This being the real Matter of Fact : I appeal to any of you all, Whether these Gentlemen consulted the late Queen's Honour, who prevail'd with her to suffer her Victorious General to be prosecuted in *Her Name*, for what he did by her express *Direction* and *Command*.

It has indeed been frequently suggested, as if that vast Load of Debts, under which the Nation groans, and all the Annual Payments for which such a variety of Funds are Mortgage'd, were the Effects of a Whiggish Administration. Now to let you see how miserably you have been impos'd upon, I will lay before you an Account of the Debts that have been contracted since 1710. when her late Majesty thought fit to employ another Set of Men. You must know then, that at *Michaelmas* 1710. the Debts of the Nation were all stated and adjusted, amounting then to six Millions, seven hundred, sixty one Thousand, and odd Hundreds of Pounds. But then, near three Millions of this Sum, was a Debt contracted in

(b) V. of the Case of the D. of M. p. 17.

The former War: And more than one Million, was occasion'd by Deficiencies. To give you a View of the whole Matter.

Debts owing at <i>Michaelmas</i> 1702.	l. 2, 897, 529
Deficiencies between <i>Mich.</i> 1702, and 1710.	1, 557, 540
Debts contracted from <i>Mich.</i> 1702, to 1710,	2, 306, 610
Sum Total	6, 761, 679

The Debt now owing to the *South-Sea* Company, for which the Nation pays Interest, is, 9, 471, 325

By this State of Affairs which I have taken out of *The Debts of the Nation Stated and Consider'd (a)*, you may observe, That the Whiggish Ministry, in eight Years Space, contracted only a Debt, (besides the Deficies, which they could not prevent) of two Millions, three Hundred and six Thousands Pounds, besides some odd Hundreds; which is not Three hundred thousand Pounds, one Year with another. Since the Whigs have been displac'd, the Debts of the Nation are encreas'd two Millions, and Seven hundred thousand Pounds. And by Consequence, That the Tories contracted more Debts in four Years Space, than their Predecessors did in eight. I will next present you with a View of the Annual Payments laid upon the Nation since 1710, over and above the Capital Debts to the *South-Sea* Company, and the Interest of it.

Annual Payment.	l.
To the Lottery 1711. —————	135, 000
The Classes Lottery 1711. —————	186, 670
To the Lottery 1712. —————	168, 003
The Classes Lottery 1712. —————	168, 003
The Civil-List Lottery 1713. —————	035, 000
Interest for 1200000 l. in <i>Exch.</i> Bills at 3 per Cent.	036, 000
To the Bank, for specifying the said Bill,	053, 000
To the Lotterry 1714. —————	116, 573
	898, 249

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By

(a) *The Debts of the Nation Stated*, p. 51, &c.

By the Account taken from the Acts of Parliament themselves, it appears, that the Tories have encreased the Yearly Payments of the Nation, Eight Hundred Ninety Eight Thousand, Two Hundred Forty-Nine Pounds. Which is more in Four Years, than the Whigs, their Predecessors, did in Seven, tho' they had a War lying heavy on their Hands. And now, I appeal to any One's Reason, Whether the Tories have any just Cause to represent their Adversaries as publick Cheats, or to boast of their better Management, and their putting a check to the Plundering of the Nation !

OBJECTION IV. The fourth Article brought against the late restor'd Ministry, is, That they were Enemies to Peace, that they were for prolonging the War, and by Consequence, that Load of Taxes, under which the Nation groan'd. *They were not asham'd, says Dr. Walker, even to spurn at the invaluable Blessings of Peace (a).*

In Answer to this Suggestion, I may take the Liberty to say, That the Generality of the Whigs were as desirous of a safe and honourable Peace, as any of their Neighbours. 'Tis absurd and senseless to the last Degree, to imagine, that they should be fond of paying Taxes, or of a War that was so great an Hindrance to their Commerce. 'Tis true, they disslik'd an implicit Faith in the State, as well as in the Church. They were not so Sanguine, as to conclude during the Negotiation, that the Peace must necessarily be very Glorious, because 'twas under an High-Church Management. And since the Conditions of it hath been publick, they cannot think it so very Honourable and Advantageous for the Nation, as it has been represented; and that for these Reasons.

1. Because one of the principal Ends for which we engag'd in the War, has not been obtain'd by the Peace. In the Representation presented to her late Majesty, March 4. 1711½, by the House of Commons, they set forth the *Wise and Honourable Ends*, propos'd to be obtain'd by that just and necessary War, in which the Kingdom was engag'd; The principal of which was, "The securing to the Subjects of the King of Great Britain, and the States General, all the same Privileges and Rights of Commerce throughout the whole Dominions of Spain, as they enjoyed before

" the

" the Death of *Charles II. King of Spain*, by Virtue of any Treaty, Agreement, Custom, or any other Way whatsoever (a). " This is the very Thing for which the *English* Fought, for which they expended so much Blood and Treasure. But is this End secured by that Peace which the Tories have patch'd up? So far from it, that the Lords, in an Address presented to the late Queen, *July 7. 1714.* express themselves in these following Words. " Upon the Examination of Merchants at our Bar, and perusing several Representations and Papers laid before us by your Commissioners of Trade, it appears to us, that the carrying on the Trade, between your Majesty's Dominions and *Spain*, on the Foot of the present Treaty of Commerce, as it stands ratified with the Three Explanatory Articles, is attended with insuperable Difficulties (b). And now I appeal to you, whether that Peace deserves such great Encomiums, which gives up the very Thing for which we have been so long contending.

2. A Second Reason why the Whigs cannot look upon the late Peace to be so glorious and honourable as it has been represented by some People is, That tho' we were in a Condition to have exacted far better Terms than the *French* King offer'd us, two or three Years before at the *Hague*, and at *Gertrudenburg*, yet we have at last accepted of such as were incomparably worse.

That the Allies were in a Condition to have exacted better Terms, than those consented to by *France*, a Year or two before in their Preliminary Articles, is evident from hence, that the Duke of *Marlborough* had in this Interval taken the strong Towns of *Tournay*, *Mons*, *Doway*, *Aire*, *Bethune*, *St. Venant* and *Bouchain*. And you need only look into a Map to be satisfied what a Progress he had made. But that which puts the Matter beyond all Dispute is the *French* King's Letter to the Archbishop of *Paris*, requiring him to sing *Te Deum* upon raising the Siege of *Landrecy*, which Prince *Eugene* was oblig'd to quit, after the Enemy had routed some of the *Dutch* Forces at *Denain*, and intercepted their Magazines of Ammunition and Provision. In which Letter that Monarch thus expresses himself, speaking of the Allies who

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would

(a) Append. to the Annals, &c. Vol. X. p. 92. (b) Political State for July. p. 10.

would not embrace the same Sentiments with *England*.
 “ They form’d a Design to Besiege *Landrecy*. The Impor-
 “ rance of that Place, the taking of which would have
 “ open’d to the Enemy an Entrance into my Kingdom, de-
 “ termin’d me to give my Orders, &c. (a). ” Now, ’tis as
 certain as a Thing of this Nature can be, that if the *British*
Forces had not deserted the rest of the Allies, the Defeat at
Denain would not have happen’d, *Landrecy* must have fallen
 into their Hands. And from thence they might have pene-
 trated into the very Bowels of *France*. So that before this
 fatal Separation, they were in a Condition to prescribe
 what Terms almost they pleas’d.

But notwithstanding this Posture of their Affairs, our
 Peace-Makers have accepted of Terms incomparably worse
 than those offer’d by *France* in her Preliminary Articles in
 the Treaty at the *Hague*, in 1709. Which were the next
 Spring consented to, the 37th. excepted. For the Truth of
 this, I must refer you to the Articles themselves, as you have
 them Printed in the 8th Volume of the *Annals* (b). And if
 you consult them, you will find, that the Conditions of the
 present Peace, are far less honourable and advantageous to
 all the Allies. They are worse for the *Emperor*; by the for-
 mer Treaty the whole *Spanish* Monarchy was to be restored
 to him, whereas, now *Spain* and the *West Indies* are given
 up to the House of *Bourbon*. Worse for the *Empire* in general,
 For by the Preliminary Articles, the City and Cittadel of
Strasburg were to be delivered up in the Condition in which
 they at present are. Whereas, now the *French* keep Pos-
 session of that Noble Fortress, and have thereby a Door o-
 pened to them, by which they may at any Time enter *Ger-
 many*, and ravage the *Empire*. Worse for the *Elector Palatine*,
 for now the Upper Palatinate must be restor’d to the *Bava-
 rian* Family; which by the first Treaty was yielded unto
 him. The *Utrecht* Peace is incomparably worse for the
Dutch, for by the former Articles, the strong Towns of *Lisle*,
Condè and *Maubeuge* were to make up a Part of their Barrier;
 In all which, the *French* have now numerous Garrisons.
 Worse for the King of *Portugal*, Care was taken for him in
 the Twentieth of the *Gertrudenburg* Articles, That he should
 enjoy

(a) *Annals of Queen Anne*. Vol. XI. p. 197. (b) V, Ap-
 pend. p. 23.

enjoy all the Advantages stipulated in his Favour, by the Treaties berwixt him and his Allies. But now he is so far from enjoying those Advantages that he has not been able to this very Day to obtain Peace with *Spain*, but upon very unreasonable Conditions. And I wish *France* and *Spain* may not be waiting an Opportunity to devour that little Kingdom, and thereby deprive us of the best Branch of Trade we have now remaining. And lastly, They have made a Peace for *England* upon worse Terms than were offered by *France* a Year or two before. In the former Treaty, *France* engaged to deliver up all that she possess'd in the Island of *Newfoundland*, without insisting upon any Reservation whatsoever, whereas, now she reserves to herself, a Liberty of catching and drying Fish upon one half of the Island. In the Preliminary Article at the *Hague*, the *French* King engages to fill up the Harbour, and raze the Fortifications of *Dunkirk*. And the 17th Article concludes with this remarkable Clause, *Nor shall it be permitted ever to rebuild the Fortifications, or make the Harbour Navigable again directly or indirectly.* But in the Peace of *Utrecht*, 'tis only stipulated that the Fortifications, Moles, Sluices, &c. to be destroyed, shall never be repaired again. But this Clause, That the Harbour shall not be made Navigable again, directly or indirectly is left out. So now the *French* are for the Letter of the Treaty, and not the Spirit of it. They won't repair the same Works they are obliged to destroy, but they'll cut a new Canal that leads up to the same Town, and make new Moles and Sluices in other Places. And all this, as they pretend, in a fair Consistency with the Obligations they are under. Just as if you should Covenant with a Neighbour to damn up a Window, which overlooks his Garden or his Court, and at the same Time break out a Hole through the Wall, and set up a new Window, which shall be equally offensive to him. After the same manner do the *French* deal with us at *Dunkirk*. They fill up the Old Canal, but make a New one at a little distance. Whereas, had the Tories us'd the same Precaution that the Whigs did before 'em, they would have inserted the same Clause, that the Harbour should be *never made Navigable again, directly or indirectly*, and then there would have been no room for such an Evasion as is now made use of. And I appeal to you, whether the Whigs may not be excus'd, if they do not think the Peace so superlatively glorious. When we accepted of it upon Terms incomparably

rably worse, when we were in a Condition to have exacted much better.

3. A Third Reason why the Whigs cannot conceive the Peace to be so honourable and advantageous as it has been represented is, because the Victorious Allies were obliged by our Managers, to Surrender up to their Conquer'd Enemies more than Three Times as much as they received from them. And that too, after *France* was reduc'd to a Necessity of complying with any reasonable Terms. You must understand then, that the High Allies did not only relinquish their just Pretensions to *Spain* and the *West-Indies*, with which one would think the House of *Bourbon* should be contented. But were, by the Treaty of *Utrecht* engag'd to give up many spacious Territories, many large and populous Countries, of which they had the actual Possession. Of which I shall give you a Catalogue with their Dimensions.

			Square Miles.
Principality of <i>Catalonia</i> ,	long 120. br. 115	(a)	13800
Kingdom of <i>Majorca</i> ,	long 50. br. 50	(b)	02500
Kingdom of <i>Sardinia</i> ,	long 135. br. 52	(c)	7020
Electorate of <i>Bavaria</i> ,	long 155. br. 125	(d)	19375
The Diocese of <i>Cologne</i> ,	long 40. br. 8	(e)	320
Estates in <i>Westphalia</i> , } belong. to Elect. Col. }	long 55. br. 47	(f)	2585
The Bishoprick of <i>Liege</i> ,	long 70. br. 25	(g)	1750

47350

Besides all these Territories the *Dutch* were oblig'd to give up to *France* the strong Towns of *Lisle*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, and *St Venant*. Of all these Cities and Principalities, the Allies had the actual Possession, when the Treaty was set on foot at *Utrecht*.

Let us next see what *France* and *Spain*, relinquish'd to the Victorious Allies, of what was in their Hands. And here, I can find no other Kingdom or Province besides,

		Square Miles.
The Kingdom of <i>Sicily</i> ,	long 172. br. 92	(k) 15824

They

(a) Atlas Geograp. p. 1239. (b) Ib. p. 1262. (c) Ib. p. 1609.
(d) Ibid. p. 655. (e) Ibid. p. 749. (f) Ib. p. 755. (g) Ibid.
p. 762. Ibid. p. 1. 610.

They were moreover oblig'd to restore to the Emperor, the Town of *Brisac*, *Fort Kehl*, and three or four little Ports upon the Coast of *Italy*, to the Duke of *Savoy*, *Nice*, and a Fortrefs or two more. And to the *Dutch* for their Barrier, the Towns of *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Tpres* and *Newport*. By this short, but true State of the Case, you may see that our Managers exchange'd whole Provinces for single Towns; and that they gave up to their vanquish'd Enemies more than three times as much in Value as they, or their Confederates receiv'd from them. And I appeal to your own Reasons, whether the Whigs may not be fairly excus'd in refusing to magnify the Honour and Advantage of such a Treaty, or to Compliment its Authors, as tho' they had been the Saviours of the Nation.

Another Thing, which makes the Whigs think less honourably of the Peace, than otherwise they would, is, the Regard had in it to the Elector of *Bavaria*. 'Tis to the mischievous Management of that Prince, the Calamities of the late War are for the most part owing. He surrendred up all the strong Towns in *Flanders* to the *French*; not only so, but let in their Armies to the very Heart of the Empire, and joyn'd his own Forces with them; for which he was judg'd a Rebel to his Country; and driven out of all his Territories by the Victory of *Blenhem*. But our Peace-makers, were so far from resenting the Injury he did us, that they not only consented he should be restor'd to his forfeited Dominions, but that the Kingdom of *Sardinia* should be taken from the Emperor, and given to him. In one Word, His Conduct lost us above forty Millions of Money, besides a vast effusion of Blood. And that so great a Treachery, should be rewarded with a Kingdom, this the Whigs confess they know not how to reconcile to the Honour of *Great Britain*.

But whilst the *French* King took such Care of his Friends and Adherents, how were the poor *Catalans* abandon'd by those who first encourag'd them to take up Arms? It has been indeed suggested, That upon their Submission, they might have enjoy'd their former Privileges. But can you imagine, that they would have so desperately thrown away their own Lives, could they have enjoy'd their Liberties, which 'tis plain, were dearer to 'em than their very Blood! This seems not very probable.

5. But the most melancholy Consideration of all, is, That our Commerce has been in a great measure ruin'd by the late Treaties. Most certain it is, that our *Spanish Trade* was the most Advantageous of any that we had. I may confidently affirm, That nine Parts in ten of all the Silver we have, came first from the *Spanish West-Indies*. But all our Merchants, both Whigs and Tories now agree in this, That that Trade meets with *insuperable Difficulties*, and with them the House of Lords concurr'd in their Representation, already taken Notice of. Ask any of our Merchants who were wont to Trade to *Cadiz*, They will tell you, there is scarce any Business now stirring there ; Our Factors, instead of being encourag'd as formerly, have been Insulted and Dragoon'd. Those Treasures which were wont to flow into *Great Britain*, and to refresh the Hearts of our Poor, are now intercepted by the *French*. This is the unhappy Condition to which our Peace-makers have reduc'd us ; this is the Effect of all the Victories we have won, and of all the Blood and Treasure we have expended ! The Whigs affirm with a great deal of Truth, That the Trade and Honour of the Nation were sacrific'd to the Ambition and Revenge of a few particular Persons, when they might have been both secur'd had they who carry'd on the War with such Success and Glory been permitted to transact and conclude the Peace.

Thus have I according to your Desire Defended those Noble Patriots, whom his Majesty has restor'd to their former Posts, from the rude Assaults which have been made upon their Reputation. I shall add no more, but that



I am your, &c

F I N I S.

